CHAPTER II

PRE-HISTORY AND PROTO-HISTORY OF MYSORE.

Pre-history of Mysore.

THE Pre-history of Mysore belongs more properly to Vol. I, Chapter VI (*Ethnology and Caste*), to which reference may be made. Palæolithic remains found in the State show that man was resident in the State in those very early times. He was apparently a rude personage whose remains consist of chipped stone implements. His descendants died out, it is inferred, at a low stage of culture. Long after him came another race, whose remains are also to be found in the State. These are the people of what is called the Neolithic Age. They polished stone, made pottery, and drilled stone and other hard materials. Their implements were still predominantly stone ones. The direct descendants probably of these people were the people of the Iron Age, whose remains are found widely scattered over the State. In this Age, stone implements were almost entirely displaced by iron ones, the art of iron smelting was widely known and practised. Wheel-made pottery was also in general use and metals other than iron began also to be worked. The arts generally made great progress during this period. From the people of this Age are descended the present inhabitants of the State and generally of Southern India, throughout which their remains have been discovered.

Proto-history of Mysore: Vēdic Gods.

Opinion regarding the events mentioned in the Vēdas, Epics and the Purānas is so diverse, even among scholars, that it is difficult to draw any safe deductions,

with any pretensions to finality, from them. 'The Vēdic gods have been explained hitherto on the basis of the Solar or Vegetation theories, which altogether rule out any suggestion of a huma norigin to them. Dr. Barnet, among recent writers, however, has propounded the theory that some at least of the Vēdic gods represent spirits of real persons. Thus, Indra (*Rig Vēda* IV, XIII) he conceives of as simply a hero, in the far away past; "very likely he was once a chieftain on earth. The story of his great deeds so fascinated the imagination of men that they worshipped his memory and at least raised him to the rank of a chief god." He was, according to Barnet, "an epic hero and typical warrior." He sees a kernel of heroic legend in the story of Indra's slaying of Vritra; it is at bottom, he says, a tale relating how Indra with a band of brave fellows stormed a mountain-hold surrounded by water in which dwelt a wicked chieftain, who had carried away the cattle of his people. Similarly in Krishna, who is briefly referred to in the *Chhāndōgya Upanishad* (iii, 17), Barnet sees a real Kshatriya hero. Omitting the miraculous elements that have gathered round him, he would accept the following outline of Krishna's life:—Krishna's father Vasudeva and his mother Dēvaki were grievously wronged by Dēvaki's cousin Kamsa, who usurped the royal power in Mathura and endeavoured to slay Krishna in his infancy, but the child escaped, and on growing to manhood killed Kamsa. But Kamsa had made alliance with Jarāsandha, King of Magadha, who now threatened Krishna; so Krishna prudently retired from Mathura and led a colony of his tribesmen to Dvāraka, on the western coast of Kathiawar, where he founded a new State. "There seems to be no valid reason," remarks Barnet, "for doubting these statements. Sober history does not reject a tale because it is embroidered with mythic tales and fiction." With the growth of the Krishna legend, we see his religion

spreading and he himself regarded "as a half-Divine hero and teacher, and worshipped under the name of *Bhagavān*, "the Lord", and in association with other half-Divine heroes. We see him becoming identified with old gods, and finally rising to the rank of Supreme Deity whose worship he had himself taught in his life-time, the Brahma of the philosopher and the Most High God of the theists. As has happened many a time, the teacher has become the God of the Church."

Mahābhārata heroes.

Similarly, the *Mahābhārata* is made to yield some heroes. The Great War, Barnet says, marks an epoch. "It came," in his opinion, "at the end of what may be called the pre-historic period and was followed by a new age. To be strictly correct, we must say that the age which followed the Great War was not new in the sense that it introduced any startling novelties that had been unknown previously; but it was new in the sense that by the Great War India speedily became the India that we know from historical records. A certain fusion of different races, cultures and ideals had to take place in order that the peculiar civilization of India might unfold itself; and this fusion was accomplished about the time of the Great War, and partly no doubt by means of the Great War, some ten centuries before Christian era." After pointing out the important part played by Krishna in this War, as the charioteer of Arjuna, one of the Pāndava brothers, he says that Vishnu was first identified with Nārāyana and then both were equated with Krishna. Of Nārāyana, he remarks :—

"Probably the name really means what naturally it would mean, "a man of the Nara family"; that Nārāyana was originally a Divine or Deified Saint, a *Rishi*, as the Hindus would call him; and that somehow he became identified with Vishnu and the Universal Spirit. This theory really is not by any means as wild as at first it may seem to be. Divine

Saints are sometimes mentioned in the *RigVēda* and *Brāhmaṇas* as being the creators of the universe; and they appear again and again in legend as equals of the Gods, attaining Divine powers by their mystic insight into the sacrificial lore."

Heroes of the *Rāmāyana*.

We come next to the *Rāmāyana*, which, in Barnet's opinion, records the adventures of Rāma, a local hero of Ayōdhya, who probably was "once a real king", to whose memory an old Saga or Sagas get attached. Barnet writes:—Rāma is the hero of the *Rāmāyana*, the great epic ascribed to Vālmīki, a poet who in course of time has passed from the realm of history into that of myth, like many other Hindus. The poem, as it has come down to us, contains seven books, which relate the following tale. Dasaratha, King of Ayōdhya (now Ajōdhya, near Faizabad), of the dynasty which claimed descent from the Sun-god, had no son, and therefore held the great *Asva-Mēdha*, or horse-sacrifice, as a result of which he obtained four sons, Rāma by his queen Kausalya, Bharata by Kaikēyi, and Lakshmana and Satrughna by Sumitra. Rāma, the eldest, was also pre-eminent for strength, bravery, and noble qualities of soul. Visiting in his early youth the court of Janaka, King of Vidēha, Rāma was able to shoot an arrow from Siva's bow, which no other man could bend, and as a reward he received as wife the princess Sīta, whom Janaka had found in a furrow of his fields and brought up as his own daughter. So far the first book, or Bāla-kānda. The second book, or Ayōdhyā-kānda, relates how Queen Kaikēyi induced Dasaratha, sorely against his will, to banish Rāma to the forests in order that her son Bharata might succeed to the throne; and the Aranya-kānda then describes how Rāma, accompanied by his wife Sīta and his faithful brother Lakshmana, dwelt in the forest for a time, until the demon King Rāvana of Lanka, by means of a trick, carried off Sīta

to his city. The Kishkindhā-kānda tells of Rāma's pursuit of Rāvana and his coming to Kishkindha, the city of Sugrīva, the king of the apes, who joined him as an ally in his expedition ; and the Sundara-kānda describes the march of their armies to Lanka, which is identified with Ceylon, and their crossing over the straits. Then comes the Yuddha-kānda, which narrates the war with Rāvana, his death in battle, the restoration of Sīta, the return of Rāma and Sīta to Ayōdhya, and the crowning of Rāma in place of Dasaratha, who had died of grief during his exile. Finally comes the Uttara-kānda, which relates that Rāma, hearing some of the people of Ayōdhya spitefully casting aspersions on the virtue of Sīta during her imprisonment in the palace of Rāvana, gave way to foolish jealousy and banished her to the hermitage of Vālmīki, where she gave birth to twin sons, Kusa and Lava ; when these boys had grown up, Vālmīki taught them the *Rāmāyana* and sent them to sing it at the court of Rāma, who on hearing it sent for Sīta, who came to him accompanied by Vālmīki, who assured him of her purity ; and then Sīta swore to it on oath, calling upon her mother the Earth-goddess to bear witness ; and the Earth-goddess received her back into her bosom, leaving Rāma bereaved, until after many days he was translated to heaven.

Such is the tale of Rāma, as told in the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyana*—a clean, wholesome story of chivalry, love and adventure. But clearly the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyana* is not the work of a single hand. We can trace in it at least two strata. Books II—VI contain the older stratum ; the rest is the addition of a later poet or series of poets, who have also inserted some padding into the earlier books. This older stratum, the nucleus of the epic, gives us a picture of heroic society in India at a very early date, probably not very long after the age of the *Upanishads* ; perhaps we shall not be far wrong, if we say it was

composed sometime before the fourth century B.C. In it, Rāma is simply a hero, miraculous in strength and goodness, but nevertheless wholly human; but in the later stratum—Books I and VII and the occasional insertions in the other books—conditions are changed, and Rāma appears as a god on earth, a partial incarnation of Vishnu, exactly as in the *Bhagavad-Gīta* and other later parts of the *Mahābhārata* the hero Krishna has become an incarnation of Vishnu also. The parallel may even be traced further. Krishna stands to Arjuna in very much the same relation as Rāma to his brother Lakshmana—a greater and lesser hero, growing into an incarnate god and his chief follower. This is thoroughly in harmony with Hindu ideas, which regularly conceive the teacher as accompanied by his disciple and abhor the notion of a voice crying in the wilderness; indeed we may almost venture to suspect that this symmetry in the epics is not altogether uninfluenced by this ideal. This, however, is a detail: the main point to observe is that Rāma was originally a local hero of the Solar dynasty, a legendary king of Ayōdhya, and as the Purānas give him a full pedigree, there is no good reason to doubt that he really existed "once upon a time." But the story with which he is associated in the *Rāmāyana* is puzzling. Is it a pure romance? Or is it a glorified version of some real adventures? Or can it be an old tale, perhaps dating from the early dawn of human history, re-adapted and fitted on to the person of an historical Rāma? The first of these hypotheses seems unlikely, though by no means impossible. The second suggestion has found much favour. Many have believed that the story of the expedition of Rāma and his army of apes to Lanka represents a movement of the Aryan invaders from the North towards the South; and this is supported to some extent by Indian tradition, which has located most of the places mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, and in particular has

identified Lanka with Ceylon. In support of this, one may point to the *Iliad* of Homer, which has a somewhat similar theme, the rape and recovery of Helen by the armies of the Achæans, the basis of which is the historical fact of an expedition against Troy and the destruction of that city. But there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting this analogy, the most serious of all being the indubitable fact that there is not a tittle of evidence to show that such an expedition was ever made by the Aryans. True, there were waves of emigration from Aryan centres southward in early times; but those that travelled as far as Ceylon went by sea, either from the coasts of Bengal or Orissa or Bombay. Besides, the expedition of Rāma is obviously fabulous, for his army was composed not of Aryans, but of apes. All things considered, there seems to be most plausibility in the third hypothesis. Certainly, Rāma was a local hero of Ayōdhya, and probably he was once a real king; so it is likely enough that an old Saga attached itself early to his memory. And as his fame spread abroad, principally on the wings of Vālmīki's poem, the honours of semi-divinity began to be paid to him in many places beyond his native land, and about the beginning of our era he was recognized as an incarnation of Vishnu sent to establish a reign of righteousness in the world. In Southern India, this cult of Rāma, like that of Krishna, has for the most part remained subordinate to the worship of Vishnu, though the Vaishnava church there has from early times recognized the divinity of both of them as embodiments of the Almighty. But its great home is the North, where millions worship Rāma with passionate and all-absorbing love.

The other and more orthodox view may be stated in the words of Dr. Macdonell, who writes thus:—

"The plot of the *Rāmāyana* thus consists of two distinct parts. The first, ending with the return of Bharata to Ayōdhya

has every appearance of being based on historical tradition; for Ikshvāku, Dasaratha, and Rāma are the names of mighty kings mentioned even in the *Rig Vēda*, though not connected there. Nor is there a mythological background or anything fabulous in the course of the narrative. The second part is entirely different in character; for its basis is mythological, and the story is full of marvellous and fantastic incidents. It has commonly been regarded as an allegory representing the first attempt of the Aryans to conquer the South or to spread their civilization over the Deccan and Ceylon. In no part of the epic, however, is Rāma described as establishing Aryan dominion in the South or even as intending to do so. Nor is Rāma's expedition ever represented as in any way affecting the civilization of the South. The poet knows nothing about the Deccan except that Brāhman hermitages are to be found there. Otherwise it is a region haunted by the monsters and fabulous beings with which an Indian imagination would people an unknown land. The second part of the epic is thus probably an outcome of Indian mythology. Sīta appears in Vēdic literature as the Furrow personified, and is accounted the wife of Indra, the god of rain. Rāma, her husband, is probably no other than Indra, his conflict with Rāvana corresponding to the Vritra-myth of the *Rig Vēda*."

Purānic personages and places.

The difference between the two views is not great, though it must be observed that Dr. Barnet sheds off the mythological aspect of the earlier theory and sees in the hero of the epic a real, historical personage who once ruled over Ayōdhya. Certain other versions of the epic will be referred to below. It will suffice here to add that though the author of the epic knows not the South and does not state that Rāma led an expedition to it with a view to establishing an Aryan dominion in it, it is not denied that he has heard of it as containing Brāhman hermitages, amidst surroundings, not very congenial to the modes of life led by ascetics. Among these ascetics was Agasthya, with whom the South is closely connected. An attempt will be made, in so far as it may be possible, to group together below events and persons belonging to

this period, and the places which local tradition connects them with.

Agasthya.

Of the *rishis* who in the earliest times penetrated to the South, Agasthya is one of the most conspicuous. The tradition that he caused the Vindhya mountains to bow down and yield him a passage, no less than the universal popular belief, seem to point him out as the forerunner of the last Aryan migration into the peninsula. To him the Tamil race attribute their first knowledge of letters. After civilizing the Dravidians or Tamil people, he retired to a hill in the Western Ghats still named after him, and was subsequently identified with the star *Canopus*. The ascendancy he gained over the enemies of the Brāhmans had, according to the *Rāmāyana*, rendered the southern regions safe and accessible at the time when Rāma crossed the Vindhya range. The scene of the following grotesque and monstrous story of the exercise of his power is laid at Stambhōdadhi (Kammasandra), on the banks of the Arkāvati, near Nelamangala. There Agasthya is related to have had an *āshrama*, and thither came the Rākshasa brothers, Vātāpi and Ilvala, who, having obtained the boon that they should be invulnerable to gods and giants and might assume any form at will, had applied themselves to the work of destroying the *rishis*. Their *modus operandi* was as follows:—Ilvala, the elder, assuming the form of a Brāhman, would enter the *āshrama* and invite the *rishi* to some ceremony requiring the sacrifice of a goat. At this Vātāpi, taking the form of the sheep, was sacrificed and eaten. The repast over, Ilvala would exclaim "Vātāpi, come forth," when the latter, resuming his natural form, would burst out from the *rishi*, rending him asunder, and the two brothers eat him up. This plan they tried on Agasthya, but he was forewarned. When, therefore, after the sacrificial meal, Ilvala as usual

summoned Vātāpi to come forth, Agasthya replied that he was digested and gone to thew orld of Yama. Ilvala, rushing to fall upon him, was reduced to ashes by a glance. (For the original legend see Muir, *Sanskrit Texts*, ii. 415.) Weber considers that the story indicates the existence of cannibals in the Deccan. Of Ilvala, perhaps, we have a trace in the village of Ilavala, known to Europeans as Yelwal, near Mysore. Vātāpipura is the same as Bādāmi, near Dharwar.

Of other *rishis*, tradition has it that Gautama performed penance on the island of Seringapatam in the Cauvery, Kanva on the stream at Malur near Channapatna, Vibhāndaka at the Tunga at Sringēri, Mārkanda on the Bhadra at Kandēya, Dattātrēya on the Baba Budans, besides many others in different places.

Asuras and Rākshasas.

"The Asuras and Rākshasas, who are represented as disturbing the sacrifices and devouring the priests, signify," says Lassen, "merely the savage tribes which placed themselves in hostile opposition to the Brāhmanical institutions. The only other actors who appear, in addition to these, are the monkeys, which ally themselves to Rāma and render him assistance. This can only mean that when the Aryan Kshatriyas first made hostile incursions to the south, they were aided by another portion of the indigenous tribes."

Of the *Asuras*, traditions are preserved that Guhāsura had his capital at Harihara on the Tungabhadra, Hidimbāsura was established at Chitaldrug, Bakāsura near Rahmān Ghar, Mahishāsura, from whom Mysore derives its name, at Chāmundi, and so on. The Asuras, it is said, being defeated by the Dēvas, built three castles in the three worlds, one of iron on the earth, one of silver in the air, and one of gold in the sky. These the Dēvas smote, and conquered the three worlds; the muster of the forces for the assault in the triple city, or Tripura, having taken place, according to tradition, at the hill

of Kurudumale, properly Kudumale, near Mulbagal. Reference to a city named Tripura will befound in connection with the Kadamba kings, farther on. The legend perhaps means that the indigenous tribes in the west retired above the Ghâts before Aryan invaders, and were finally subdued by their assailants penetrating to the tableland from the east, and taking the lofty hill forts.

The *Râkshasas* appear to have been a powerful race dominant in the south, whose capital was at Lanka in the island of Ceylon. The kingdom of the *Vânara* or monkey race was in the north and west of Mysore, their chief city being Kishkindha near the village of Hampe, on the Tungabhadra. The ancient Jain *Râmâyana*, composed in Hala Kannada, gives a genealogy of the kings of either race down to the time of Râma's expedition, which will be made use of farther on, so far as it relates to Mysore. In it we are also introduced to the *Vidyâdharas*, whose empire was apparently more to the north, and whose principal seat was at Rathanapura-Chakravâlapura. The Silaharas of Karahâta (Karhad), near Kholapur, are known by the name of Vidyâdharas. (Dr. Bühler, *Vikramânka Dêva Charita*, Int. 40.)

Haihayas; In order, however, to obtain something like a connected narrative of events more or less historical of these remote times, we may begin with an account of the Haihayas. Wilson imagines them to be a foreign tribe, and inclines, with Tod, to the opinion that they may have been of Scythian origin and perhaps connected with a race of similar name who first gave monarchs to China. (Wilson, *Vishnu Purâna*, Bk. IV, ch. xi, last note; Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, I, 36.) Haihaya was also the name of a great-grandson of Yadu, the progenitor of the Yâdavas. They overran the Deccan, driving out from Mahishmati, on the upper Narmada (Nerbudda) a king named Bâhu,

seventeenth in descent from Purukutsa of the solar line, the restorer of the dominion of the Nāgas. He fled with his wives to the forest, where one of them gave birth to Sagara, who became a great conqueror and paramount ruler in India. Sagara is the king most commonly named at the end of inscriptions as an example of liberality in granting endowments of land. He nearly exterminated the Haihayas and associated races, the Sakas, Yāvanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas—but, at the intercession of his priest Vasishtha, forbore from further slaughter, and contented himself with imposing on them certain modes of shaving the head and wearing the hair, to mark their degradation to the condition of out-castes. Eventually the Haihayas established their capital at Ratanpur (in the Central Provinces), and continued in power until deposed by the Mahrattas in 1741 A.D. Inscriptions have been found proving the dominion of the Haihayas over the Upper Narmada Valley as far back as the second century A.D. (*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, Int. 1.)

Parasu Rāma

At a later period, Arjuna, the son of Kritavīrya, and hence called Kārtavīryārjuna (which distinguishes him from Arjuna, one of the Pāndu princes), was ruling over the Haihayas. On him the Muni Dattātrēya had conferred a thousand arms and other powers, with which he oppressed both men and gods. He is even said to have seized and tied up Rāvana. About the same time, a sage named Jamadagni, nephew of Visvāmitra, the uncompromising opponent of Vasishtha, having obtained in marriage Rēnuka, daughter of King Prasēnajit, they had five sons the last of whom was Rāma, called Parasu Rāma, or Rāma with the axe, to distinguish him from the hero of the *Rāmāyana*. He is represented as the sixth *avatār* of Vishnu: his axe, however, was given to him by Siva.

Jamadagni was entrusted by Indra with the care of Surabhi, the celestial cow of plenty; and on one occasion, being visited by Kārtavīrya, who was on a hunting expedition, regaled the Rāja and his followers in so magnificent a manner as to excite his astonishment, until he learned the secret of the inestimable animal possessed by his host. Impelled by avarice, he demanded the cow; and on refusal, attempted, but in vain, to seize it by force, casting down the tall trees surrounding the hermitage. On being informed of what had happened, Parasu Rāma was filled with indignation; and attacking Kārtavīryārjuna, cut off his thousand arms and slew him. His sons in return killed Jamadagni, in the absence of Parasu Rāma. Whereupon Rēnuka became a Sati, by burning herself on her husband's funeral pyre. With her dying breath she imprecated curses on the head of her husband's murderer, and Parasu Rāma vowed, after performing his father's funeral obsequies, to destroy the whole Kshatriya race. There is little doubt that the so-called cow was a fertile tract of country, such as Sorab (literally *Surabhi*), where the scene of this transaction is laid, is well known to be. The story, however, is differently related in the *Mahābhārata*, but with too unnatural and improbable circumstances. The sequel is the same.

Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshatriyas, he gave her at the conclusion of an *asvamēdha*, a rite, whose performance was a sign of the consummation of victory, as a sacrificial fee to Kasyapa, the officiating priest; who, in order that the remaining Kshatriyas might be spared, immediately signalled him off with the sacrificial ladle, saying, "Go, great Muni, to the shore of the southern ocean. Thou must not dwell in my territory." Parasu Rāma then applies to Sagara, the ocean, for some land, and compels it to retire, creating the seven Kōnkanas, or the maritime regions of the

western coast, whither he withdraws to the Mahēndra mountain. The Earth, who finds it very inconvenient to do without the Kshatriyas as rulers and kings, appeals to Kasyapa, who discovers some scions of royal houses that have escaped the general massacre of their race, and instals them.

This prodigious legend, in which the mythical type of Brāhmanism is clearly enough revealed as arrayed in opposition to the military caste, is by tradition connected with many parts of Mysore. Sorab taluk is the Surabhi which was Jamadagni's possession. The temple of Rēnuka, existing to this day at Chandragutti, is said to mark the spot where she burnt herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, and that of Kōlāhalamma at Kolar is said to have been erected in her honour from Kārtavīryārjuna having there been slain. The colloquy with Sagara is said to have been near Tirthahalli. At Hiremagalur (in Kadur District), is a singular memorial in the temple of Parasu, the axe of the hero, and its ancient name of Bhārgavapuri connects the town with him as being a descendant of Bhrigu.

Rāma.

Our history has next to do with Rāma,—called, by way of distinction, Rāmachandra,—the hero of the *Rāmāyana* and the seventh *avatār* of Vishnu. On his way home after winning Sīta by breaking the bow of Siva, he is, strangely enough, said to have been encountered by Parasu Rāma, who required him to break a bow of Vishnu which he produced. This Rāma did, and at the same time destroyed Parasu Rāma's celestial abode. The story of Rāma,—a Kshatriya, but obedient to the Brāhmans; of the solar line, the son of Dasaratha, King of Ayōdhya (Oudh)—and of the abduction, during their wanderings in the Dandaka forest, of his wife, the fair Sīta, by Rāvana, the Rākshasa King of Lanka in Ceylon, is too well known to need repetition here. To this day not an

incident therein has abated in interest to the millions of India, and few parts of the land but claim to be the scene of one or other of its adventures. Without stopping to dwell on the romantic episode, which will be found in the history of the Kadur District, of Rishya Sringa, to whom indirectly the birth of the hero is ascribed, it is evident that Rāma's route from Panchavati or Nasik, at the source of the Godāvari, to Rāmesvara, on the south-eastern coast opposite Ceylon, would naturally lead him across the table-land of Mysore.

All accounts agree in stating that the first news Rāma received that Rāvana had carried off his wife to Ceylon, was conveyed to him while at the court of Sugrīva, the King of Kishkindha; and that with the forces here obtained he accomplished his expedition and the recovery of Sīta. He first met Sugrīva, then dispossessed of his kingdom, at the sources of the Pampa or Tungabhadra, and assisted him in recovering his throne. The former region, therefore, would be in the Western Ghats, in Kadur District; and the situation of Kishkindha is generally acknowledged to be on the Tungabhadra, north of Mysore, near the village of Hampe, where in modern times arose the cities of Anegundi and Vijayanagar. The Brāhmanical version of the *Rāmāyana*, as contained in Vālmīki's famous poem, describes the races of this region as *Vānaras* and *Kapis*, or monkeys. But the Jain *Rāmāyana*, previously referred to, calls Kishkindha the *Vānara Dhvaja* kingdom, or kingdom of the monkey flag. This simple device on the national standard, therefore, may have led to the forces being called the monkey army, and thence easily sprung all the other embellishments of the story as popularly received. We shall follow the Jain version in giving the previous history of the kings of Kishkindha.

Kishkindha.

By the conquests of Sagara, here made a descendant of Puru, a prince named Tōyada Vāhana (the same as

Mēgha Vāhana, or Jimūta Vāhana), who had thought of marrying a princess whom Sagara appropriates, is driven to take refuge with Bhīma Rākshasa of Lanka; and the latter, being without heirs, leaves to him that kingdom, as well as Pātāla Lanka. After many generations, Dhavala Kīrti arises in that line, whose wife's brother, Srīkantha Kumāra, being desirous of establishing a principality for himself, sets out for the *Vānara Dvīpa*, or monkey island, where the accounts he receives of the Kishkindha hill induce him to select it as the site of his capital. He accordingly founded there the city of Kishkindha, and is the progenitor of the line of kings of the monkey flag.

The successors of Srīkantha Kumāra, in regular descent, were Vajrakantha, Indrāyudha, Amara Prabhu (who marries a princess of Lanka), and Kapi Kētu. After several more kings, whose names are not mentioned, the line is continued by Mahōdadhi, and his son Pratibindu. The latter has two sons, Kishkindha and Andhraka. A *Svayamvara* being proclaimed for Mandara Māli, princess of Ādityanagara on the Vijayārtha-parvata, these princes attend, as well as Vijaya Simha, son of Asanivēga, the Vidyādhara Chakravarti, and Sukēsha, the young king of Lanka. The lady's choice falling on Kishkindha, Vijaya Simha is indignant and attacks him, but is killed by Andhraka. Asanivēga, to revenge his son's death, marches against Kishkindha and Sukēsha, and takes both their kingdoms. They retire to Pātāla Lanka. After a time, Kishkindha founds a city on Madhuparvata, and has there two sons, Rikshaja and Sūryaja. Sukēsha, in Pātāla Lanka, has three sons—Māli, Sumāli, and Mālyavant,—who, on attaining to manhood, recover possession of Lanka. Meanwhile, in the Vidyādhara kingdom, Asanivēga has been succeeded by Sahasrāra, and he by Indra. The Lanka princes, with the aid of Rikshaja and Sūryaja, attack the latter, but are defeated

and again lose their kingdoms, all retiring to Pātāla Lanka as before. In the course of time, to Ratnasrava, son of Sumāli, is born Rāvana, the predestined champion of the Rākshasa race. He regains Lanka and Kishkindha, and restores the latter to Rikshaja and Sūryaja. Vāli and Sugrīva, the sons of the last, succeed to the throne. Rāvana now demands their sister in marriage; but Vāli, being opposed to it, abdicates, and thus leaves Sugrīva alone in the government.

On one occasion, Sugrīva, owing to some dispute with his wife Sutāre, stays away from his capital; and during his absence, a double of himself, who most closely resembles him, usurps his place and imposes upon all the ministers. The real Sugrīva, being in a fix, resorts to his friend Hanumān, son of Pavanajaya, king of Hanuvara or Hanuruha-dvīpa. Then, hearing about Rāma, he visits him at Pātāla Lanka, and undertakes to discover Sīta's place of confinement in return for Rāma's assistance in regaining his throne. Kishkindha is accordingly attacked, the false or Māya Sugrīva is killed, and Sugrīva restored. News having been received from a neighbouring chief that he saw Rāvana bearing Sīta to Lanka, a council is now held, at which it is resolved to send to Hanuvara-dvīpa for Hanumān, as being of Rākshasa descent. The latter arrives, and undertakes to go to Lanka as a spy and discover the truth of the report. He sets out by way of Mahēndra-parvata and Dadhi-mukha-parvata and brings back tokens from Sīta. Forces are at once mustered for the expedition to Lanka for her recovery. The march of the army to the southern sea leads them to Vēlandha-pura, ruled over by Samudra; to Suvēlāchala, ruled over by Suvēla; and lastly to Hamsa-dvīpa, whose king was Dviparadana.

The identity of the places mentioned in the foregoing account it is perhaps difficult to establish. But it seems not unlikely that Pātāla Lanka, evidently, from the name,

a city below the Ghats, and belonging to the Rākshasa kingdom of Ceylon, was some place in Kanara; for the dominions of Rāvana are said to have extended to Trichinopoly on the east, and to Gokarna on the west of the peninsula. Hanuvara or Hanuruha-dvīpa again is no doubt one of the islands in the large lake of Honavar or Honore near Gersoppa at the mouth of the Sharavati, which forms the Gersoppa Falls. The principal island in the outer bay was fortified by Sivappa Nāyak of Ikkēri, and is now called Basava Rāja-durga. The north-west of Mysore seems thus pretty clearly connected with an important part of Rāma's expedition. Local traditions, less credible in character, will be found noticed under the several places where they are current. A spurious grant on copper-plates (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga, 86) found at Kudalur and claiming connection with Ayōdhya and its kings may be referred to here. This grant claims to be one made by the Emperor Ḍharmāngada, son of the Emperor Rukmāngada, and grandson of the Emperor Hēma. These rulers are described as of the Sūrya-kula or Solar race, lords of Ayōdhyapura (Oudh), and having a flag bearing the crest of a golden peacock. The plates are said to have been discovered when digging in the ground about seventy or eighty years ago. They are engraved in perfectly preserved Nāgari characters, and expressed in a curious mixture of Sanskrit and Marāthi, much of the latter part being unintelligible. The grant, apparently some land to a Brāhman, was made by the Emperor Dharmāngada when on an expedition to the south, in the year Ānanda. Rukmāngada, the father of the Emperor, is the famous Vaishnavite king who preferred to sacrifice his son rather than give up his *Ēkādasi* (11th Day) fast. The peacock crest referred to in the grant is unknown in Mysore. The Kadambas claim their origin from Mayūravarma, which is accounted for by a story about a peacock,

but this was not their crest. As Mr. Rice remarks, the grant appears to be a fabrication and the Marāthi in it shows it to be quite modern. He conjecturally assigns it to about 1750 A.D., when the Mahrattas were predominant in the part of Mysore from which this grant comes. According to tradition, Rukmāngada was the king of Sakkarepatna, in the Kadur District, and made the Ayyankere lake, for the stability of which Honbilla, still worshipped at Sakkarepatna, was sacrificed.

Pāndavas.

We will, therefore, proceed to the history of the Pāndus, and briefly notice some of the more important events related in the *Mahābhārata* which tradition connects with Mysore. Arjuna, the third and most attractive of the five brothers, who by his skill in archery won Draupadi, the princess of Pānchāla, at her *Swayamvara*, after a time went into exile for twelve years, in order to fulfil a vow. During his wanderings at this period, it is related that he came to the Mahēndra mountains, and had an interview with Parasu Rāma, who gave him many powerful weapons. Journeying thence he came to Manipura, where the king's daughter, Chitrāngada, fell in love with him, and he married her and lived there three years, and had by her, a son, Babhruvāhana. The locality of this incident is assigned to the neighbourhood of Chāmarājanagar in the Mysore District, where the site of Manipura, to which we shall have again to refer, is still pointed out. Manipur in Eastern Bengal, it appears, also lays claim to the story, but evidently on scanty grounds. (Wheeler, *History of India*, 149, 425, notes.)

When Yudhishthira resolved to perform the royal sacrifice called the Rājasūya, by which he proclaimed himself paramount sovereign, it was first necessary to subdue the kings who would not acknowledge him. Accordingly four expeditions were despatched, one towards each of the cardinal points. The one to the south

was commanded by Sahadēva. After various conquests he crosses the Tungabhadra and encamps on the Kishkindha hill, where Sushēna and Vrishasēna, the chiefs of the monkey race, make friendship with him. Thence he goes to the Cauvery and passing over to Mahishmati (Mahishur, Mysore), attacks Nīla its king, whom he conquers and plunders of great wealth. The *Mahābhārata* in this place (*Sabhā Parva*) makes some singular statements regarding the women of Mahishmati. The king Nīla Rāja, it is said, had a most lovely daughter, of whom the god Agni (Fire) became enamoured. He contrived to pay her many secret visits in the disguise of a Brāhman. One day he was discovered and seized by the guards, who brought him before the king. When about to be condemned to punishment, he blazed forth and revealed himself as the god Agni. The Council hastened to appease him, and he granted the boon that the women of Mahishmati should thenceforth be free from the bonds of marriage in order that no adultery might exist in the land, and that he would befriend the king in time of danger. This description of "free love" would apply to the Nairs and Nambūdri Brāhmans of Malabar, but seems misplaced in reference to Mysore. It may, however, indicate that a chief of Malabar origin had at that time established himself in power in the south-west; and possibly refer to some stratagem attempted against him by Jamadagni, which ended in an alliance. Sahadēva was forced to conciliate Agni before he could take Mahishmati.

It may here be stated that, according to traditions of the Haihayas in the Central Provinces, Nīla Dhvaja, a descendant of Sudhyumna, got the throne of Mahishmati (Mandla); Hamsa Dhvaja, another son, became monarch of Chandrapur (supposed to be Chanda); and a third received the kingdom of Ratanpur. The two former kingdoms, after the lapse of some generations, were

overthrown by the Gonds, and the Ratanpur kingdom alone survived till the advent of the Mahrattas. (*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 159.)

Sudhanva, a son of Hamsa Dhvaja, is also said in the traditions of Mysore to have been the founder of Champakanagara, now represented by the village of Sampige, near Kadaba, in Gubbi Taluk.

The only actual record hitherto found of a Nīla Rāja in the south is in the Samudragupta inscription at Allahabad, in which he is assigned to an unknown country called Avimukta (signifying freed or liberated, a curious coincidence with the story above given), and is mentioned between Vishnugōpa of Kanchi and Hari-varman of Vēngi. His period, according to this, would be the fourth century. (See Fleet's *Early Gupta Kings*, 13.)

From Mahishmati Sahadēva goes to the Sahyādri or Western Ghats, subdues many hill chiefs, and, descending to the coast, overruns Kōnkana, Gaula and Kērala.

The fate of the great gambling match which followed the Rājasūya, and the exile of the Pāndavas for thirteen years, during the last of which they were to live *incognito*, need not be related here, as they are generally well known. But an inscription at Belagāmi in Shikarpur taluk expressly says that the Pāndavas came there after the performance of the Rājasūya. In the course of their further wanderings, the brothers are related to have lived in the Kāmyaka forest, and this is claimed to be the wild tract surrounding Kavale-durga in the Shimoga District. The erection of the massive fortifications on that hill is ascribed to the Pāndus, as well as the Bhīmankatte thrown across the Tunga above Tirthahalli. The thirteenth year of exile was spent at the court of the king Virāta, in various disguises,—Bhīma as a cook, Arjuna as an eunuch, Draupadi as a waiting-maid, etc. The varied incidents of this year are fully given in the

published abstracts of the poem. It is only necessary here to state that Virāta-nagara is more than once mentioned in the Chālukya inscriptions, and is by tradition identified with Hanagal, a few miles north of the Sorab frontier. Writing of this place, Sir Walter Elliot says, "The remains of enormous fortifications, enclosing a great extent, are still visible. I have got a plan distinctly showing the circuit of seven walls and ditches on the side not covered by the river." (*M.J.L.S.* XVIII, 216. Also see *I.A.* V., 177.)

We pass on to the great *Asvamēdha*, or horse sacrifice, undertaken by Yudhishthira, which forms the subject of one of the most admired Kannada poems, the *Jaimini Bhārata*. Among the conditions of this regal ceremony, it was required that the horse appointed for sacrifice should be loosed and allowed to wander free for the period of one year. Wheresoever it went it was followed by an army, and if the king into whose territories it chanced to wander, seized and refused to let it go, war was at once declared and his submission enforced. In accordance with these rules, Arjuna was appointed to command the escort which guarded the horse. Among the places to which it strayed, three are by tradition connected with Mysore.

The first of these is Manipur, near Chāmarājanagar, previously mentioned. There appear to be several reasons for accepting this as the locality in preference to Manipur in Eastern Bengal. In the version given by Wheeler, Vol. 1, it is stated (396) that the horse when loosed went towards the south, and that its return was in a northerly direction (414); these directions would not lead it to and from Eastern Bengal, but to and from Southern Mysore they would. It is also said (406) that sticks of sandalwood were burnt in the Council hall of Manipur, and also (408) that elephants were very excellent in that country. Now Mysore is the well-known home of the sandal-tree, and the region assigned above as the site of

Manipur is peculiarly the resort of elephants; within ten miles of that very site have been made the remarkably successful captures of elephants described in Vol. I of this work. The sequence of places visited by the horse after Manipur is also, as shown in the text, consistent with the identification here proposed. From the notes (149, 425) it appears that the application of the story to Manipur in Bengal is of very recent date.

Babhruvāhana, the son born to Arjuna at Manipur, had now grown up and succeeded to the throne. His kingdom was also in a state of the highest prosperity. It was pre-eminently "a land of beauty, valour, virtue, truth:" its wealth was fabulous, and its happiness, that of paradise: it was filled with people, and not a single measure of land was unoccupied or waste. Of Solomon in all his glory it is stated that "he made silver and gold at Jerusalem as plenteous as stones." So here "many thousands of chariots, elephants and horses were employed in bringing the revenue, in gold and silver, to a thousand treasuries; and the officers sat day and night to receive it; but so great was the treasure that the people who brought it had to wait ten or twelve years before their turn came to account for the money, obtain their acquittal and return home." One Rāja confessed that he sent a thousand cart-loads of gold and silver every year merely for leave to remain quietly in his own kingdom. When the horse came near this enchanting spot the Rāja was informed of it; and, on his return from the chase in the evening, he commanded it to be brought before him. The scene is thus declared:—

"Now the whole ground where the Rāja held his council was covered with gold; and at the entrance to the council-chamber were a hundred pillars of gold, each forty or fifty cubits high; and the top of each pillar was made of fine gold and inlaid with jewels; and on the summits of the pillars and on the walls were many thousand artificial birds, made so

exact that all who saw them thought them to be alive; and there were precious stones that shone like lamps, so that there was no need of any other light in the assembly; and there also were placed the figures of fishes inlaid with rubies and cornelians, which appeared to be alive and in motion. All round the council hall were sticks of sandal, wound round with fine cloth which had been steeped in sweet scented oils; and these were burnt to give light to the place instead of lamps, so that the whole company were perfumed with the odour. And before each one of the principal persons in the assembly was placed a vessel, ornamented with jewels, containing various perfumes; and on every side and corner of the hall were beautiful damsels, who sprinkled rose-water and other odoriferous liquors. And when the horse was brought into the assembly, all present were astonished at its beauty and they saw round its neck a necklace of excellent jewels, and a golden plate hanging upon its forehead. Then Rāja Babhruvāhana bade his minister read the writing on the plate; and the minister rose up and read aloud, that Rāja Yudhishthira had let loose the horse and appointed Arjuna to be its guardian."

It was resolved that Babhruvāhana, being Arjuna's son, should go forth to meet him in a splendid procession and restore the horse; but Arjuna, under some evil influence, refused to acknowledge the Rāja as his son; he even kicked him, and taunted him with inventing a story because he was afraid to fight. Babhruvāhana was then forced to change his demeanour, which he did with great dignity. A desperate battle ensued, in which Arjuna was killed, and all his chieftains were either slain or taken prisoners. Congratulations were showered upon the victor, but his mother, Chitrāngada, swooned and declared her intention of burning herself on Arjuna's funeral pile. In this dilemma, Ulūpi, a daughter of Vāsuki, the Nāga or serpent Rāja, whom Arjuna had formerly married, and who had afterwards entered the service of Chitrāngada, resolved to get from her father a jewel which was in the possession of the

serpents, and which would restore Arjuna to life. She accordingly sent a kinsman to her father with the request. His council, however, being afraid of losing the jewel, refused to give it up. On learning this, Babhruvāhana made war upon the serpents and compelled them to give it up. Arjuna was by its means restored to life and reconciled to his son.

The horse then entered the territory of Ratnapura, a city of which name, it will be seen, was situated near Lakvalli in Kadur District. The animal was here seized, but rescued by Arjuna. It next wandered into Kuntala, the country of Chandrahāsa, whose capital we shall find was at Kubattur in Shimoga District. Here also the king was compelled to release it.

The story of Chandrahāsa is a pleasing and favourite romance. He was the son of a king of Kērala, and was born with six toes. While an infant, his father was killed in battle, and his mother perished on her husband's funeral pile. His nurse then fled with him to Kuntala, and when she died, he was left destitute and forced to subsist by begging. While doing so one day at the house of the minister, who is appropriately named Dushta Buddhi, or evil counsel, some astrologers noted that the boy had signs of greatness upon him, indicating that he would one day become ruler of the country. The minister, hearing of it, took secret measures to have him murdered in a forest; but the assassins relented, and contented themselves with cutting off his sixth toe, which they produced as the evidence of having carried out their instructions. Meanwhile, Kulinda, an officer of the court, hunting in that direction, heard the boy's cry; and, pleased with his appearance, having no son of his own, took him home to Chandanāvati and adopted him.

He grew up to be very useful and, by defeating some rebellious chieftains, obtained great praise and wealth

for his adopted father, which excited the jealousy of the minister. The latter, resolved to see for himself, paid a visit to Kulinda, when, to his astonishment, he learnt that all this prosperity was due to an adopted son, Chandrahāsa, who had been picked up in the forest years ago bleeding from the loss of a sixth toe. The truth at once broke upon him that it was the boy he had thought to murder. Resolved more than ever to get rid of him, he dissimulates and proposes to send him on an errand to court, which was gladly enough undertaken. A letter was accordingly sent by him to Madana, the minister's son, who was holding office during his father's absence, directing that poison (*visha*) should be at once given to the bearer as he valued his own advancement. For the minister had secretly resolved, as there was no male heir to the throne, to marry Madana to the king's daughter and thus secure the kingdom to his own family. Chandrahāsa, bearing the letter, arrived near the city, where he saw a charming garden. Being weary, he tied his horse to a tree and lay down to rest when he fell asleep.

Now it so happened that this garden belonged to the minister, and that morning his daughter Vishaya (to whom, before leaving, he had jestingly promised to send a husband), had come there with the daughter of the Rāja and all their maids and companions to take their pleasure; and they all sported about in the garden and did not fail to jest each other about being married. Presently Vishaya wandered away from the others and came to the tank, where she saw the handsome young Chandrahāsa lying asleep on the bank, and at once fell in love with him. She now noticed a letter half falling from his bosom, and, to her great surprise, saw it was in the handwriting of her father, and addressed to her brother. Remembering what had been said about sending her a husband, she gently drew out

the letter and, opening it, read it. One slight alteration she saw would accomplish her wishes; she accordingly changed the word *vishava*, poison, into *vishaya*, her own name, re-sealed it with a copy of her father's seal which she had with her, and replaced it in the young man's bosom.

When Madana received the letter he was greatly surprised, but as the message was urgent, at once proceeded with arrangements for marrying his beautiful sister to the handsome stranger. The ceremony had just been concluded, with all manner of pomp and rejoicing, when the minister returned. Seeing what had happened, he was struck dumb with amazement. The production of the letter further convinced him that through fate the mistake must have been his own. Suffice it to say that he makes another attempt to get rid of Chandrahāsa, but it so chances that his own son Madana is killed instead; and Chandrahāsa, taking the fancy of the king, is adopted as heir to the throne and married to the princess. Whereon the minister, driven to desperation, kills himself.

Janamējaya.

Before quitting the legendary period, there is yet one tradition demanding notice. During the first twelve years' exile of Arjuna, before visiting Manipur, he had married Subhadra, the sister of Krishna. By her he had a son named Abhimanyu. When, at the conclusion of the thirteenth year of the second period of exile, the Pāndavas threw off their *incognito* at the court of Virāta, the Rāja offered his daughter Uttara to Arjuna. But the latter declining her for himself, on the ground that he had acted as her music and dancing master and she had trusted him as a father, accepted her for his son Abhimanyu, from which union sprung Parīkshit, whose son was Janamējaya. This is the monarch to whom the *Mahābhārata* is recited.

Alleged Janamējaya grants.

Parīkshit, according to a curse, died from the bite of a serpent, in revenge for which it was that Janamējaya performed his celebrated *Sarpa Yāga* or serpent sacrifice. This ceremony, according to tradition, took place at Hiremagalur in the Kadur District, and three *agraharas* in the Shimoga District,—Gauj, Kuppagadde and Begur—possess inscriptions on copper-plates all written in Sānskrit and in Nāgari characters, professing to be grants made by Janamējaya to the officiating Brāhmans on the occasion of the *Sarpa Yāga*. The genuineness of these and other allied grants has been a subject of much controversy among scholars. There is, however, scarcely any doubt now that these grants, though alleged to have been made by the Emperor Janamējaya, are of a date considerably later than his period. The best known of these grants are the Gauj *agrahāra* plates (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga, Shikarpur 45) which were brought to light at the beginning of the last century by Colonel Colin Mackenzie, who made the survey of Mysore, and are said to be mentioned in a *sanad* of 1746 issued by Chennamāji, Rāni of Bednur. They are engraved in an old form of Nandi Nāgari characters and expressed in the Sānskrit language, except for certain Kannada forms in describing the donees. Similar to these are the Kuppagadde plates (*E.C.* VIII, Shimoga ii, Sorab 183). The Begur grant (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga i, Shikarpur 12) belongs to the same class, though no plates are forthcoming, there being available only a copy on paper. Another grant of this kind is *E.C.* VII, Shikarpur 86, discovered at Siralkoppa, whose characters however appear modern. From *E.C.* V, Hassan District, Arsikere 110, we learn that the Brāhmans of Kodangalur claim to have had a Janamējaya grant, but that the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana offered them a much better village and removed them to Kellangere, otherwise known as Hariharapur *agrahāra*. This was apparently in 1142 A.D., which date seems to

furnish some indication of the period to which we can assign these grants. Mr. Rice has published, in the *I.A.* VIII, 89, a grant in precisely the same characters and terms, but dated in Saka 366 (A.D. 444) and attributed to Vīra-Nonamba of the Chālukya family. This afforded a clue to the real date of this grant, its professed date, Saka 366, being obviously a wrong one. Vīra-Nonamba was another name of Jayasimha, the younger brother of Vikramāditya, the Chālukya king, and ruler of the Banavase Province from about 1076 A.D. Mr. Rice was, therefore, inclined to associate these grants with him and published in the same place parallel versions of the two grants to show their substantial identity. Mr. Rice urges that they are not to be treated as "palpable forgeries" in the sense that they are records of grants that were never made, "for most of the villages can still be identified." He accordingly suggests that the grants themselves were probably genuine, but perhaps to some insecurity or instability in the authority making them, they were attributed to a period safely too far removed for criticism. The figures of the Saka years are wrong but there is no forgery about Vīra-Nonamba's grant, and it expressly says that it was written by the highly accomplished (*Ati-Kusala*) Odvāchāri. This and the Begur and Kuppagadde plates are signed by *Ari-rāya-mastaka tala-prahāri*. We know that the title *Vīra-tala-prahāri* was given by Āhavamalla, father of Vīra Nolamba, to the Huliyere Chief Sthīragambhīra, for the bold manner in which he rescued Nolamba's queen from her captors; and the title *Ganda-tala-prahāri* to the Nirgunda Chief, for a feat performed at Kalyāna, the Chālukya capital. These coincidences are, as Mr. Rice remarks, significant.

The four grants above named are said in them to have been made by the Emperor Janamējaya, son of the Emperor Parīkshit of the Pāndava-kula, lord of

Hastināpura, with titles usually applied to the Chālukyas. He is said to have made the grants while on an expedition to the south, in the presence of the god Harihara, at the confluence of the Tunga and Haridra, on the occasion of his performing the *Sarpa Yāga* or serpent sacrifice. These and other data contained in the grants themselves do not suffice to fix up their date. It has been proposed to derive the year from the phrase *Katakam Utkalitam* which immediately precedes the month and day, just in the place where the year should be given if mentioned, by applying the *Katapayādi* system to the first word (*Katakam*) resulting in 1115 (Saka) expired or 1193 A.D. For many reasons, says Mr. Rice this date seems not to be far wrong. The phrase occurs in a slightly modified form with the Saka year, in Vīra Nolamba's grant as well. The day mentioned in the four grants is Monday, the third of the dark fortnight of Chaitra, at the time of *Sankrānti Vyatīpāta*. To this the Gauj grant adds a partial eclipse of the sun. From data supplied to him, Sir G. B. Airy, Astronomer-Royal, calculated that the solar eclipse mentioned occurred on Sunday, the 7th April 1521 (*J. Bo. Br. R.A.S.*, X., 81). But as Mr. Rice remarks he was evidently not informed of Monday being the week day, as the plate on which the Gauj inscription is engraved is broken off at this point. This date, therefore, cannot be accepted. Mr. Rice taking as a guide the period of Vīra-Nonamba, the Chālukya prince Jayasimha, which is known to be towards the close of the 11th century, and assuming that his grant was the model for the others (to which the similar terms and signatures bear witness), allots these to some king suggestive of the Pāndyas and connected with Harihara. These requirements are, according to him, met by the Pāndya kings of Uchchangi. Early in the 12th century, they were governing Konkana (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga i, Shikarpur 99); later on,

they were rulers over Nolambavadi Thirty-two Thousand and the Santalige Thousand (*E.C.* VII, Shimoga i, Channagiri 61 & 39). Vijaya Pāndya ruling in about 1166 A.D. to 1187 A.D., for part of the time seems as if independent. The Chālukya power had been just then overthrown by the Kālachūrya usurpation. The Hoysalas, under Vīra Ballāla and the Sevunas or Yādavas of Dēvagiri under Jaitugi, were contending for the possession of the late Chālukya territories. The Chōlas had besieged without success for twelve years the impregnable Pāndya stronghold of Uchchangi and abandoned it,—which Ballāla then captured, reinstating Pāndya on his claiming protection. The Lingāyat revival in the time of the Kālachūrya king Bijjala had spread with alarming rapidity throughout the Kannada country, superseding the Jains and the Brāhmans alike to a large extent from their supremacy. The times were thus full, as Mr. Rice remarks (*E.C.* VII, Introduction, 3) of great political and religious convulsions, which might well furnish ground for apprehension and to the assignment of a fabulous antiquity to these *agrahāra* grants, their real period being the 12th century A.D.

The only other grant of a similar nature that remains to be noticed is the Bhīmanakatte Mutt grant. (*E.C.* VIII, Tirthahalli 157.) It is in the Dēvanāgari characters, but contains the signature *Srī Vārāha* (so spelt in the original) in comparatively modern Kannada letters. It professes to record a grant made in the 89th year of the Yudhistbira era (=3012 B.C.) the year Plavanga, by the Emperor Janamējaya, born in the Kurukula and of the Vaiyāgrapipāda gōtra, seated on the throne in the Kishkindhanagari,—for the worship of the god Sīta-rāma, worshipped by Kaivalyatīrtha, disciple of Garudavāhanatīrtha-Srīpāda of the Munivrinda-mathas. The grant consisted of lands in the Munivrinda-Kshētra, where, it says, "our great-grandfather Yudhishthira and the

others stayed," and was made in the presence of the god Haribara (where the other above mentioned Janamējaya grants are said to have been made) with pouring of water from the Tungabhadra. As Mr. Rice remarks (*E.C.* VIII, Introduction 1), a comparison with many of the Vijayanagar grants from the same quarter shows so palpably that it is copied from them that no lengthy discussion of the matter is needed. The opening words *Srī-Ganādhipatayēnamah*, the *Jayābhyudaya* prefixed to the *Yudhishthira-Saka*, just as is commonly done to the modern *Sālivāhana-saka*, the titles of the king, his protection of all the *Varnāsrama-dharmas*, a phrase constantly used of the early Vijayanagar kings,—are all specially characteristic of the Vijayanagar grants from the same neighbourhood. The date, Mr. Rice points out, is given as one less than ninety in the Yudhishthira Saka, the year Plavanga. Now it so happens that the Sālivāhana-Saka year 1289 expired is Plavanga. This, therefore, or 1367 A.D., may be conjectured, remarks Mr. Rice, to be the actual date of the grant. And, he thinks, it was probably made by Bukka-Rāya, or perhaps in his reign, by his son Harihara.

Chronology of events.

Regarding the chronology of the events which have been mentioned in the foregoing account of the legendary period, it can only be stated generally, that the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Parasu Rāma is said to have taken place between the Trēta and Dvāpara ages; that an era of Parasu Rāma used in Malabar dates from 1176 B.C.; that Rāma's expedition against Lanka, assigned to the close of the Trēta age, is supposed to have taken place about the 13th century B.C. and the war of the *Mahābhārata* about fourteen centuries B.C. The earliest version of the two epics must have been composed before 500 B.C.

The Purānas.

Closely connected with the *Mahābhārata* is a distinct class of epic works, largely didactic in character, which is designated by the general name of *Purāna*, literally *ancient*. Though the legends composing them are mainly derived from that epic, and are thus later in age than the *Mahābhārata*, there is little doubt that they enshrine much that is undoubtedly ancient, probably traditional history of past and remote ages. It is possible too that they represent as MacDonell suggests "a later form of earlier works of the same class." There is, as a matter of fact, clear evidence for the belief that the Sānskrit account of the dynasties mentioned in some of them—*Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmānda*—as it now stands in them, is an adaptation of older Prākrit *slōkas*, or verses; and there is some reason for suspecting that the most ancient text was originally written in the Kharōshti script. The chief *Purānas* are eighteen—*ashtā-dasa*—in number and their existence is known from remote times. The *Itihāsa Purāna* is known to the *Atharvavēda* (xv. 6. 11 f.) and to the *Upanishads* (*Chhandogya* vii. 1 & 7) and early Buddhist works, in both of which this is styled the fifth Vēda. Kautilya in his *Arthasāstra* likewise refers to *Itihāsa*, as the fifth Vēda. *Itihāsa* is usually defined as composing six factors, one of which is *Purāna*. The *Purāna* should, therefore, have been in existence in some readily accessible form already in 4th century B.C., as it is prescribed as a course of study for kings. The Buddhist work, the *Questions of Milinda* (4th century A.D.) and Bāna, the author of *Harsha-Charita* (6th century A.D.), refer to the *Purānas*. Alberuni, the Muhammadan historian of India (1030 A.D.), refers to the eighteen *Purānas*, which seems to indicate that by his time their number had got fixed at "Eighteen." Mr. F. E. Pargiter, in his *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, a work of supreme value for the study of this subject, has suggested that the *Bhavishya Purāna*, in its early form,

was the original authority from which the *Matsya, Vāyu,* and *Brahmānda Purānas* were originally drawn, but later became different. He thinks that the *Vishnu* and *Bhāgavata Purānas* are later reductions and that the *Bhavishya Purāna,* in its present form, is of little historical use. The *Matsya, Vāyu* and *Brahmānda,* which grew out of one and the same original text contain, in his opinion, the most reliable historical data. Of these, the dynastic lists of the *Matsya Purāna* are held by him as superior to those contained in the two other *Purānas* though they include interpolations of later date. Mr. Pargiter also suggests that the first compilation of the historical matter may have been made in the reign of the Āndhra king, Yagnasri, about the close of the 2nd century A.D. Whether this is so or not, he thinks it certain that the first compilation was made in the original *Bhavishya* text about 200 A.D., the same being revised about 315-20 A.D. and inserted in one of the *Vāyu* texts. He also postulates a later revision of the *Bhavishya,* about 325-330, which found a place in another *Vāyu* text and in the *Brahmānda,* which two *Purānas* accordingly, have, in his opinion, preserved the contents of the *Bhavishya* as it existed at the time of the second revision.

Mr. Pargiter, in his writings, gives a synopsis of the principal of the earliest Indian royal genealogies as recorded by tradition in the *Purānas* and epics, and he has co-ordinated on the basis of that synopsis all the important traditions which describe the doings of the most ancient kings, so as to present connectedly what can be gleaned from tradition—mainly in the genealogical accounts—regarding the course of events from the earliest times down to the great battle described in the *Mahābhārata.* Myth and tradition suggest, he says, that three different stocks were dominant at first, namely, the Aila stock which began with Purūravas Aila at Allahabad; the Saudyumna stock which held East India; and a

third which he calls the Manva stock, which occupied all the rest of India and had its three chief kingdoms in Oudh and North-west Bihar; so that civilization began in the middle of North India. The course of development was determined by the Aila stock. It gradually extended its power over the middle of North India, with the exception of those three kingdoms, and then divided into five tribes named after *Yayāti's* five sons, Yadu, Tūrvāsu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru. The Purus or Pauravas held first the lower Ganges-Jumna doab and ultimately dominated the Ganges-Jumna plain and as far east as south-west Bihar. The Yadus or Yādavas gradually occupied all the country from the lower Jumna to Gujarat and Berar. The Anus or Ānavas held at first the North Ganges-Jumna plain, but one branch gradually forced the Druhyus, who were on their west, up into the N.-W. Frontier and out beyond that, and themselves occupied the Punjab, while another branch invaded East Bihar and ultimately ruled as far as the Ganges delta and Orissa. The Tūrvāsus played no important part.

Thus in time the Ailas dominated the whole of North India (except the three Manva kingdoms in Oudh and North-west Bihar) and the north-west portion of the Deccan. The Manva stock played no decisive part except at one period, when Sagara, King of Oudh, rescued India from the ravages of the Haihaya branch of the Yādavas and of foreign hordes from the N.-W. Frontier; and it ultimately retained only those three kingdoms. The Saudyumnas virtually disappeared. All these changes are traced out according to tradition.

The dominion of the Ailas is what is known as the Aryan occupation of India, so that Aila means Aryan; and the so-called Manva stock seems to declare itself Dravidian. Indian tradition knows nothing of an Aryan invasion of India from the N.-W., but makes the Aila or Aryan power begin at Allahabad and gradually spread out

all around except over Oudh and North-west Bihar. Yet myth and tradition suggest that Purūravas, the Aila progenitor, came originally from, or from beyond, the middle Himālayan region, that is, that the Aryans entered from Tibet. Certainly that north region has always been the sacred region of the Indians, while the extreme N.-W., had no ancient associations or memories for them, such as would have existed if the Aryans came from that quarter.

Though Mr. Pargiter remarks that the Tūrvāsus played no important part, it is worth noting here that the Second Vijayanagar dynasty begins with Tūrvāsu. Probably the Tūrvāsus occupied the South. Earlier still the Kalinga account of the origin of Eastern Gangas states that Tūrvāsu, the son of Yayāthi, being without sons, practised self-restraint and propitiated the river Ganga, the bestower of boons, by means of which he obtained a son, the unconquerable Gāngēya, whose descendants were victorious in the world as the Ganga line. (I.A. XIII. 275).

The deductions drawn by Mr. Pargiter are too far-reaching to find unreserved acceptance from all Indologists. Among others the late Sir John Fleet and Dr. Keith have taken exception to some of them. There is no doubt, however, that Mr. Pargiter has obtained for the study of the *Purānas* a place in Indian research work and by his own valuable labours proved that the *Purānas* are not altogether worthless for historical purposes.

The Eighteen *Purānas*, as will be seen, refer primarily to kings and dynasties of Northern India. The Southern *Puranās*, which are many, generally trace their origins to one of the eighteen *Purānas*, and include accounts of local dynasties and kings. They have not yet been examined with the same critical care with which the "Eighteen" have been studied. Some of these *Purānas* will be found referred to in the accounts of the places to which they refer themselves.